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ABSTRACT

As a part of the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education, this document presents the findings of the study team from the University of Colorado who spent a month at the Shonto Boarding School in 1969. Additional information was collected during brief visits and during a 1-week stay by the team leader who was at the reservation to share some of the preliminary findings with the personnel at the school. The history, geography, economy, and attitudes of the community are described as they relate to the boarding school. The structure of the school, staffing pattern, and selection procedures of local school board members are included, as are the Navajo educational goals and facts relating to curriculum of the school. (LS)

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NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

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PROJECT OEC-0-8-080147-2805

FINAL REPORT

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Community Background Reports

Series I

Shonto Boarding School and Community

No. 9

Shonto, Arizona

Bryan P. Michener
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado
January, 1970

RC004440

NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

The attached paper is one of a number which make up the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education.

This Study was conducted in 1968-69-70 with the aid of a grant from the United States Office of Education, OEC-0-8-080147-2805.

The Final Report consists of five Series of Papers:

I. Community Backgrounds of Education in the Communities Which Have Been Studied.

II. The Education of Indians in Urban Centers.

III. Assorted Papers on Indian Education--mainly technical papers of a research nature.

IV. The Education of American Indians--Substantive Papers.

V. A Survey of the Education of American Indians.

The Final Report Series will be available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service after they have been announced in Research in Education. They will become available commencing in August, 1970, and the Series will be completed by the end of 1970.

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PART I The Shonto Community

PART II Education and the Shonto Boarding School

PREFACE

Most of the information for this study was collected by a field team of four persons from the University of Colorado which spent a month living at the Shonto Boarding School in 1969. Additional information was collected by various members during brief summer visits and by the team leader who spent a week there in November to share some of the preliminary findings with school personnel at Shonto.

Throughout the above periods of residence virtually all school-related functions were attended: faculty, school board and chapter house meetings; athletic and recreational events; preschools; missions; and trading posts. Most of the time was spent interviewing a large sample of 88 students, some 38 parents, plus many teachers, administrators and dormitory personnel. School board members and influential persons in the community were also interviewed. The team is deeply appreciative of all the cooperation, time and ideas which such a large part of the community gave so generously.

THE SHONTO COMMUNITY

Location

Shonto is located in the northwest corner of the Navajo Reservation (Map 1). The area is characterized by a complex system of highlands and mesas, generally referred to as the Shonto Plateau, deeply dissected by parallel canyons which drain the area.

Shonto Canyon is unique among the canyons in the area, in that sometime in the past a landslide blocked the mouth of the canyon and enabled a broad layer of alluvium to be deposited which traps water and creates marshes. Typically the other canyons are still eroding deeper and deeper into the sandstone.

An isolated area until recently, Shonto is now connected by roads to Flagstaff, the most important nearby urban center, 120 miles to the Southwest. Tuba City, an agency town located on the reservation with BIA, school, Tribal, and U. S. Public Health facilities is located midway between Shonto and Flagstaff (Map 2). Shonto is still relatively isolated since access is via a three-mile stretch of unpaved road off a dead-end paved road of 9 miles. This latter road, however, is connected to the major highway known as the Navajo Trail, traveled by increasing numbers of tourists yearly.

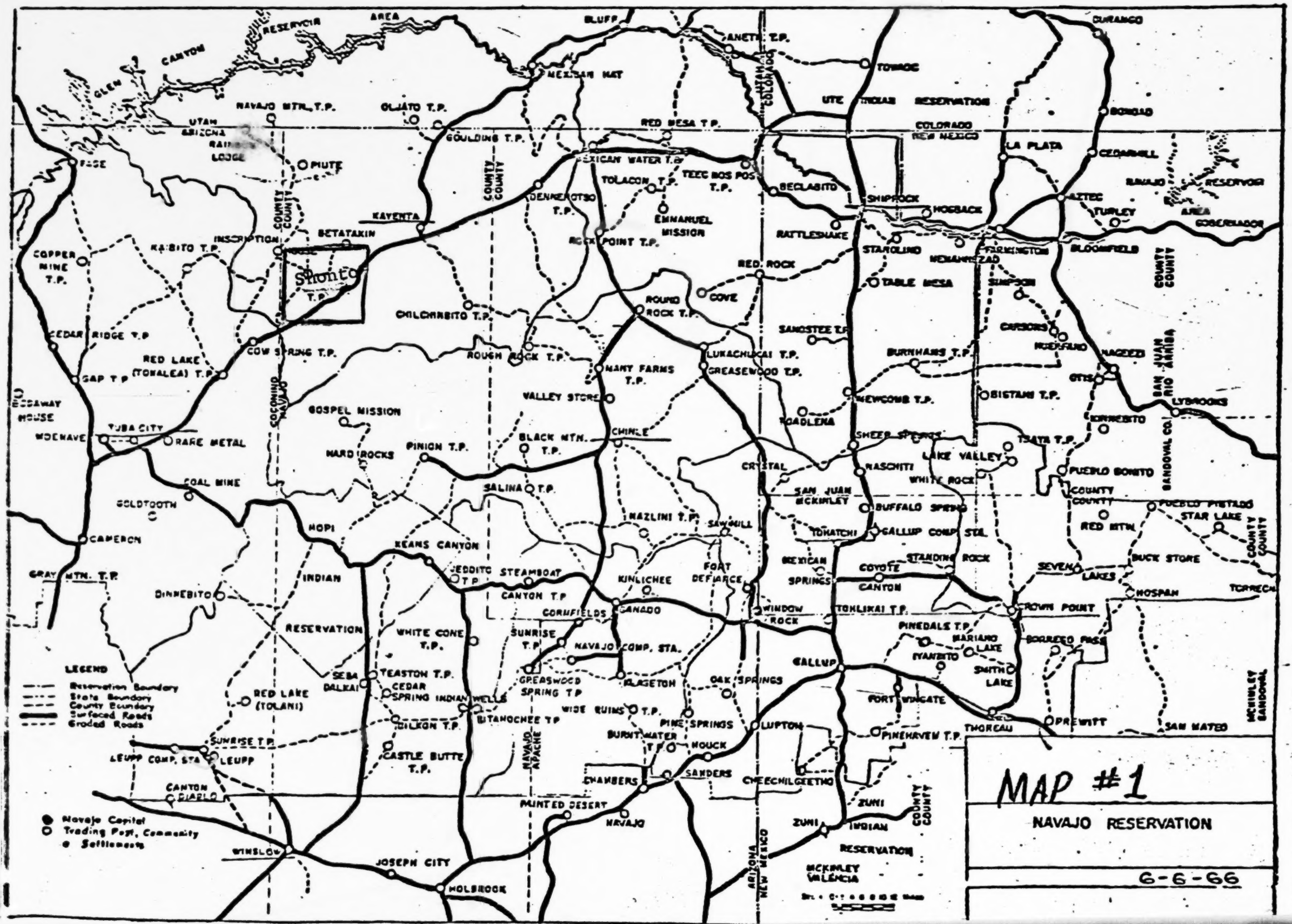
The area is characterized by very cold winters, with alternating freezing and thawing of the ground caused by the presence of fog and some snow. Travel to the school from outlying districts is made difficult by the mud, and at times the unpaved stretch of road is difficult to traverse.

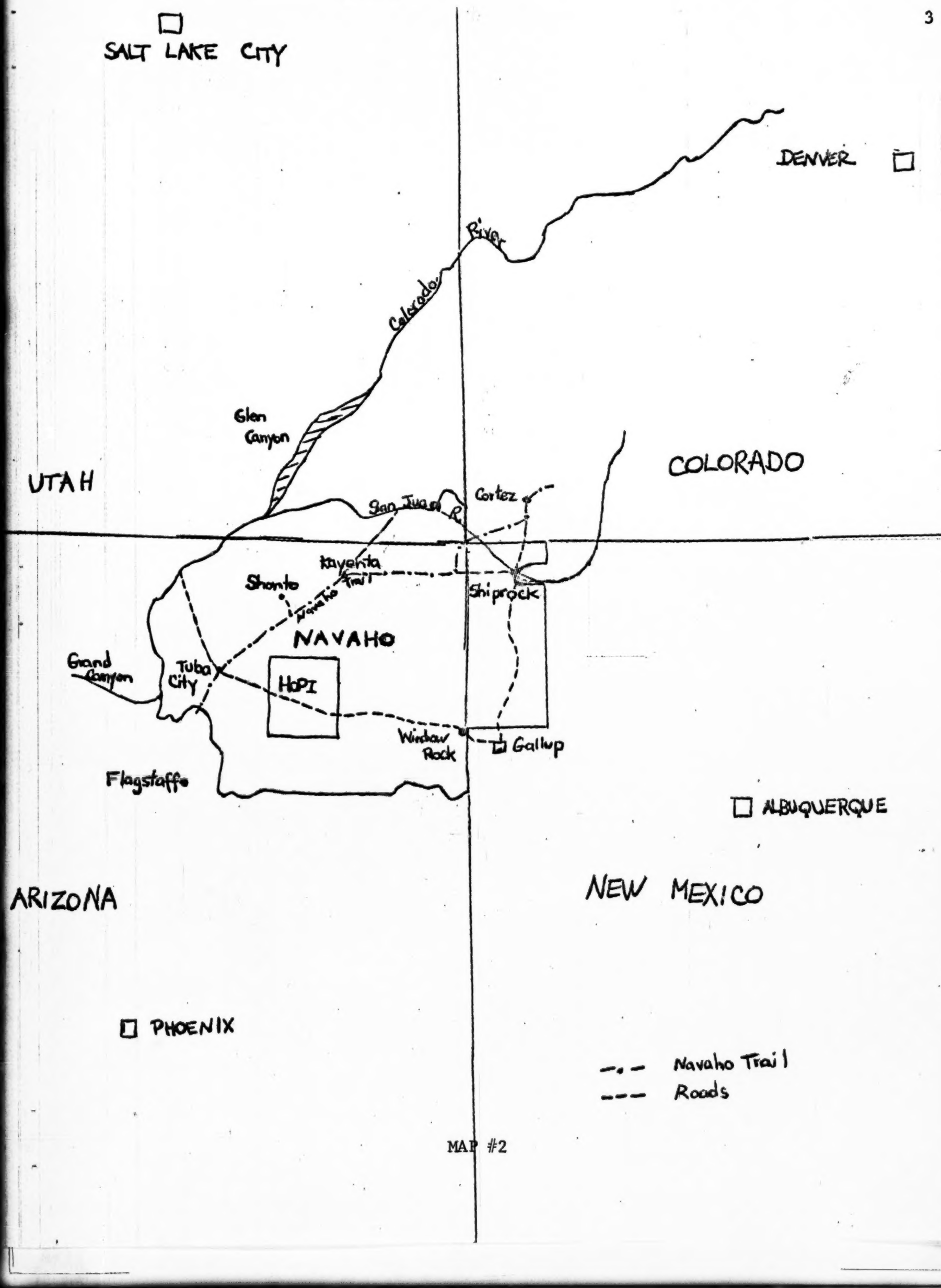
Summers are mild and dry.

The Shonto Boarding School serves three traditional Navajo communities: Shonto, Inscription House, and Navajo Mountain, in addition to several peripheral areas such as the northern reaches of Black Mesa (Map 3). Most of the region was formerly served by more distant boarding schools, and in not a few cases by no school at all. Each of the above communities has its own trader; constitutes a Chapter, which is the Navajo Tribe political subdivision, and maintains a Chapter house; a preschool; and usually a mission.

Population

The population density is low throughout the area. For the Shonto trader it has been defined as approximately 230 square miles and about 600 persons representing 100 households within 38 residential or territorial


RESERVOIR
AREA
BLUFF
DURANGO
CANYON
GLEN
MEXICAN HAT
TOWAOC
UTE INDIAN RESERVATION
NAVAJO MTN. T.P.
OLJATO T.P.
UTAH
ARIZONA
RAINBOW LODGE
GOULDING T.P.
RED MESA T.P.
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
BONDAD
LA PLATA
CEDARHILL
PAGE
PIUTE
MEXICAN WATER T.P.
TEEC NOS POS T.P.
TOLACON T.P.
BECLABITO
SHIPROCK
HOGBACK
AZTEC
TURLEY
NAVAJO RESERVOIR AREA
COUNTY
KAYENTA
DENNEHOTSO T.P.
EMMANUEL MISSION
ROCK POINT T.P.
RATTLESNAKE
STANDING
FARMINGTON
BLOOMFIELD
COPPER MINE T.P.
KAIBITO T.P.
INSCRIPTION HOUSE
BETATAKIN
Shonto T.P.
RED ROCK
TABLE MESA
NEWCOMB
COVE
ROUND ROCK T.P.
CHILCHINBITO T.P.
SANOSTEE T.P.
CEDAR RIDGE T.P.
COW SPRING T.P.
ROUGH ROCK T.P.
LUKACHUKAI T.P.
GREASEWOOD T.P.
BURNHAMS T.P.
NAGEEZI
GAP T.P.
RED LAKE (TONALEA) T.P.
NAHT FARMS T.P.
GOODWAY HOUSE
TUBA CITY
MOENAVE
RARE METAL
GOSPEL MISSION
VALLEY STORE
BLACK MTN. T.P.
CHINLE
NAVAJO
APACHE
SHEEP SPRINGS
LAKE VALLEY
WASCHITI
WHITE ROCK
PUEBLO BONITO
COUNTY
HARD ROCKS
PINION T.P.
SALINA T.P.
COAL MINE
GOLDTOOTH
CAMERON
HOPI
NAZLINI T.P.
SAWMILL
SAN JUAN
MCKINLEY
BUFFALO SPRING
TOHATCHI
GALLUP COMP. STA.
RED MTN.
PUEBLO PINTADO
STAR LAKE
KEAMS CANYON
JEDDITO T.P.
STEAMBOAT
CANYON T.P.
KINLICHEE
FORT DEFIANCE
MEXICAN SPRINGS
COYOTE CANYON
STANDING ROCK
SEVEN LAKES
BUCK STORE
GRAY MTN. T.P.
DINNEBITO
INDIAN
CORNFIELDS
CANADO
WINDOW ROCK
TOHLAKAI T.P.
HOSPAH
TORREON
RESERVATION
WHITE CONE T.P.
SUNRISE T.P.
PINEDALE T.P.
MARIANO LAKE
TOWN POINT
NAVAJO COMP. STA.
IYANBITO
SMITH LAKE
SEBA DALKAI
TEASTON T.P.
CEDAR SPRING
GREASEWOOD SPRING T.P.
KLAGETOH
OAK SPRINGS
GALLUP
FORT WINGATE
RED LAKE (TOLANI)
INDIAN WELLS
BITAHOCHEE T.P.
WIDE RUINS T.P.
PINE SPRINGS
LUPTON
THOROAU
PREWITT
SAN MATEO
BILKON T.P.
BURNT WATER T.P.
HOUCK
PINEHAVEN T.P.
SUNRISE T.P.
CASTLE BUTTE T.P.
LEUPP COMP. STA.
LEUPP
SANDERS
CHEECHILGEETHO
CANYON DIABLO
CHAMBERS
PAINTED DESERT
NAVAJO
ZUNI
ZUNI INDIAN RESERVATION
MCKINLEY VALENCIA
WINSLOW
JOSEPH CITY
HOLBROOK
LEGEND
Reservation Boundary
State Boundary
County Boundary
Surfaced Roads
Graded Roads
Navajo Capital
Trading Post, Community
Settlements
MAP #1
NAVAJO RESERVATION
6-6-66


SALT LAKE CITY
DENVER
River
Colorado
Glen
Canyon
UTAH
COLORADO
San Juan R.
Cortez
Kayenta
Shonto
Monument Trail
Shiprock
NAVAHO
Grand Canyon
Tuba City
HOPI
Window Rock
Gallup
Flagstaff
ALBUQUERQUE
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
PHOENIX
Navaho Trail
Roads

MAP #2

groups.[1] The latter groups are commonly referred to as "extended families" which are a group of persons who live within "shouting distance" of one another.[2] The strength of kinship bonds makes up for the physical diffusion of the Navajo community. In 1955, 13 percent of the households involved plural marriages which is a further indication of the strong traditional relationships that enter modern times.[3,4] A limited number of clans, approximately 13, are found in the area, of which only six extend over two generations in the Shonto region. Residence is commonly matrilocal, but the historically recent migration into the area has increased the patrilocal association. Since the establishment of the Shonto school, a significant portion of the population has now shifted to neolocal residence.

The ecological demographic structure of the community has undergone great change in the last decade, moving from a primarily subsistence based livestock and agriculture economy to a much more diversified economy of wages, welfare and off-reservation employment. This is in part related to the fact that the Navajo have one of the highest population growth rates of any people anywhere; approximately 4 percent net increase per year compared to 1.8 percent per year for the United States as a whole. This is due not only to a high birth rate, common to many groups, but also to a remarkable low death rate (relative to other developing areas) due to the U. S. Public Health Service, which is not available to most developing groups. Among the Navajo population growth exceeds the subsistence base, a subsistence population is shifting to wage income, and population growth exceeds economic development, suggesting the significance of the population problem. One rather unanticipated aspect that has not been generally considered in the Navajo population growth is the significance of the boarding schools on the birth rate. The differential effect upon family size between families which have had four to six children placed in schools where they are fed, clothed and housed; and families who have to provide these services on their own, and have to cope with the daily problems, needs examination.

The population of non-Indians is very limited. Most live within the school compound and create their own exclusive community. The non-Indian population within a thirty-mile radius would include two additional school compounds, Kaibeto and Red Lake, six traders, and five or six missionaries.

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[1]William Y. Adams, "Shonto: a Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navajo Community," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 188, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1963.

[2]Clyde S. Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho, New York: Doubleday and Co., Revised 1962, p. 56.

[3]Adams, op. cit.

[4]Although marriage forms did not comprise a formal aspect of our study, data from parent interviews suggest a lower percentage of plural marriages, 8 percent - 10 percent.

In addition, a few families at Betatakin National Monument are residents of the Shonto region. Housing is integrated, although there is a notable lack of communication between Indians and non-Indians and perhaps most informal social groups tend to be separate. Much of this is more de facto than intentional, since there are so few Indians on the professional level at the school, and most of the white population is at that level.

The Indian and non-Indian school age children also tend to separate. Federal policy itself does not permit non-Indian students to attend BIA schools even if they are termed community schools, nor is attendance of Indian employees' families encouraged. Non-Indians and high school students are bussed 38 miles to Kayenta public schools.

Historical Background

The Navajo migrated from the Pacific Northwest and arrived in the Southwest relatively recently, at about 1500. They share the Athabaskan language with their Northwest cultural cousins and the Apaches, who split off at about the time of their entry into the Southwest. From the first small bands of nomadic Indians at the time of their arrival, The Diné, or The People, as the Navajo called themselves, grew to about 15,000 in 1870 and now comprise the largest tribal group in the United States with over 130,000 persons today. The Navajo occupy the largest reservation and survive with their greatest cultural assets intact: their spirit, their language, their religion, their harmonious adaptivity, and more of their traditional lands and livelihood than any other tribal group.

In prehistoric times, prior to the Navajo migration, the Kayenta branch of the Anasazi people inhabited the agricultural valleys and constructed numerous pueblos in the Shonto area, including Keet Seel, Betatakin, and Inscription House which were all abandoned about 1300 A.D. The Anasazi moved to the southern areas of Black Mesa where they are now known as the Hopis.

In historic times, many post-contact accounts describe the Navajo's relations with the Europeans,[1] thus only the briefest historical sketch of aspects relating to Shonto will be mentioned here. Shonto is a Navajo word meaning place-where-the-sun-shines-on-the-water.

The first Spaniards are believed to have entered the area circa 1661, leaving an inscription at what is now known as Inscription House. No further circumstances are known except that the date coincides with the establishment of a Franciscan Mission at Awatovi, about three days by horseback to the south of Shonto.

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[1] Adams, op. cit.; Malcolm F. Farmer, "The Growth of Navaho Culture," San Diego Museum Bulletin, Vol. 6, 1941; Katherine Luomala, The Navajo Life of Yesterday and Today, Berkeley, California, 1938; Ruth Underhill, "Here Come the Navaho," U. S. Indian Service, Branch of Education, Indian Life and Customs, Publication #8, 1953; The Navajos, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956; Kluckhohn and Leighton, op. cit.

Frs. Escalante and Dominguez met both Paiute and Havasupai near Kaibeto in 1776, and a few Paiute still reside north of Navajo Mountain. They met no Navajos north of Hopi country in 1776. Their map delineates the westward boundary of Navajo lands by Chinle Wash (see Map 1).

Escalante and Dominguez in 1776 crossed the Colorado River below Navajo Mountain, skirted the Kaibeto Plateau south to Black Mesa and thence to Oraibi. A Spanish expedition to Salt Lake in 1813 provided few facts concerning the region which remained largely untouched during the Spanish-Mexican period.

The U. S. acquired the territory by the Mexican Cession of 1848, but not until 1858 was any local contact recorded. A Mormon pioneer, Jacob Hamblin, crossed the Colorado at the same point as Escalante and then traveled south to Hopi country.

In 1849 Capt. Walker and a cavalry regiment from Ft. Defiance traveled within 15 miles of Shonto, leaving an inscription at Long House Ruin. In 1864 a Heliograph Station was established on Navajo Mountain to transmit military messages via relays to Ft. Defiance.

Much of the Navajo westward expansion may be attributed to United States military incursions from 1860-64, especially those of Col. Kit Carson's campaign and the first Navajo relocation program. One band of Navajo, believed to have been from Black Mesa, was captured near Shonto and sent to Ft. Sumner in 1863.[1] Others moved down from Black Mesa as the area became increasingly desiccated and settled southeast of Shonto. Another clan group retreated to Navajo Canyon and escaped. While the northern half of the Shonto Plateau seems to have been colonized within the last two generations by persons moving southwest from Oljeto and Navajo Mountain, these derive from the Hoskinini band which fled to the mesas west of Oljeto in 1863, overrunning the Paiute farmers along the San Juan. Currently only Skeleton Mesa is unoccupied.[2]

Depredations and later trade characterize Navajo contacts with Mormons in the 1860's, culminating in the treaty of 1871. The same year saw the founding of Lee's Ferry, north of Oljeto, and more continuous trade was established. Mormon traders remained in Tuba City.

Since the Navajo settlement in the area dates only slightly over one hundred years, contemporary collections of valuable historical and ethnographic information can be expected to fill in much more about the Shonto area. The Navajo Community College at Many Farms, Arizona has been collecting Navajo accounts of early settlement from encounters with Kit Carson to the present. The entire region west of Marsh Pass seems to have been a refuge zone whose inhabitants escaped the Carson campaign. Kayenta was resettled by Navajos from Fort Sumner in 1868.

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[1]Richard Van Valkenberg, "Dine Bikeyah," Window Rock, Arizona: Tribal Museum, mimeo.

[2]Adams, op. cit., p. 39.

In 1883 the railroad reached Flagstaff and the frontier encirclement of the Navajo was complete. In 1882 the Hopi Reservation was recognized as extending north almost to Shonto itself, and in 1884 the Shonto region west of Kaibeto was added to the 1868 Navajo Reservation, and extended in 1900 to the Colorado River. The Mormon settlers were bought out and Tuba City became the Agency headquarters for Western Navajo Reservation.

John Wetherill established a trading post at Kayenta in 1909 and a wagonroad existed between Kayenta and Tuba City before 1910. In 1915 Wetherill and John Lee established the first Shonto Trading Post in a tent, later selling out to Harry Rorick who built stone buildings. During the 1920's a road was built, but it was impassable in the winter.

Cow Springs and Oljeto posts were active in the 1920's. Present Navajo Mountain and Inscription House opened in 1934 when the auto road was built to Rainbow Plateau. The first paved highway between Tuba City and Kayenta was completed about 1964.

Navajo Mountain Monument, Betatakin, Keet Seel, Inscription House, Rainbow Natural Bridge and Lake Powell are today tourist attractions. The Rainbow Bridge Lodge burned down in 1951 and a few overland tourists visit the monument via horseback from the Navajo Mountain area. Lake Powell is developing commercially but until the pavement is completed from Kaibeto to Inscription House it will have little if any impact economically.

In 1904 a school with boarding facilities was built in Tuba City for 1-6 grades.

In the 1930's Agency, Court, Hospital, Law, and barracks-like dormitories were added. John Collier was Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at that time and the "Indian New Deal" brought a paved road to Tuba City, auto roads to Navajo Mountain, magneto telephone*, new trading posts, deep wells, storage tanks and soil conservation efforts, and many new community schools.

Although Indian tribes were encouraged and supported by John Collier in establishing tribal government through the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Navajo rejected organization under the Act. Later, however, the Navajo Tribe did organize a tribal government for the reservation.

Collier is remembered as "the man who took away our sheep," which refers to an antagonism growing from the administration efforts at a compulsory livestock reduction program. The Navajo resentment fused the first all-tribal resistance movement since the Spanish conquest, and councilmen who had voted for the government program were not reelected. The federal government withdrew Chapter house support, and the institutionalization of modern tribal government was greatly retarded. Even today the councilmen frequently are viewed as government functionaries, who are hired to represent the government to the people.

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*Until 1955, this was the nation's longest party-line, with 41 subscribers and 700 miles of wire in one circuit.

The Collier program also involved a decentralization of land administration into 18 land management districts, each having general jurisdiction over livestock operations. District directors became the area's most important contact with the higher bureaucracy. Shonto was the seat of Grazing District No. 2 from 1935 to 1949.

World War II interrupted all developmental efforts and brought a reversal of Collier's decentralization efforts. Community schools were supplanted by boarding schools such as Kaibeto in 1952, and later Kayenta. Nearby, two small day schools at Cow Springs and Red Lake were opened. Grazing districts were also consolidated, and Tuba City supplanted Shonto. The tribal government assumed increasing responsibilities. In 1948 law enforcement was assumed by the tribe. The same year Navajo were qualified for State Welfare and about 10-20 percent of the Shonto economy derives from Social Security, ADC and Aid to the Blind.

Legal authority is analogous to political authority at Shonto in that both institutions are Anglo derivatives. The traditional Navajo system is largely concerned with torts, which are subject to private retribution, rather than to civil crimes. However, both codes cover the same relationships which may create conflicts.

In the absence of resident police, the legal system became ancillary to the traditional system, in that police intervention was only invoked through individual initiative: calling 55 miles to Tuba City, awaiting their arrival and swearing a complaint. The only exception seemed to be in the area of liquor violations which were deemed criminal in nature.

A policeman lives in residence at the Shonto school compound. It is a footnote to progress that no law officer was deemed necessary prior to the establishment of the Shonto Boarding School.

Economy

Although sheepherding and livestock raising are economically more important than agriculture, traditionally most Navajos consider themselves as primarily farmers and secondarily ranchers. Many other activities are subordinate to the agricultural cycle. For example, railroad labor cannot be recruited before the plowing and planting are completed, and most persons return to the reservation before harvest. The fields are small, averaging 3-5 acres per residence group.

The school has become the major source of wage employment and its role is increasing, in that the only new jobs created in the past five years were at the school.

The development of Shonto Boarding School is associated with better graded roads, over a hundred new houses, electricity (still not available to 90 percent of Shonto Navajos), one pay telephone, cable TV (at the school compound since 1968), a water and sanitation system for compound dwellers, a graded airstrip. Also, a policeman and dentist were added to the community.

Income

No adequate figures on income are available for Shonto. However, it should be noted that the area is undergoing remarkably rapid change. Table 1 gives a comparison between current estimated sources of income with figures presented in a study made in 1955.

Table 1

Sources of Income in Shonto

	1955*	1969 (estimated)
Basic Navajo complex (agriculture livestock, singing, weaving)	22%	10%
Welfare	8%	15%
Supplementary Income	66%	75%
Local Wage Work	12%	(50%)
R.R. and Unemployment	52%	(20%)
Other off-reservation	2%	(5%)
Irregular sources	3 - 4%	?
Average Income per Household	$1,500	$2,500 to $3,000

*Source: William Y. Adams, "Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navajo Community," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin #188, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute.

Income is actually more diversified than would appear in the table. It should be noted that these figures are not strictly comparable to off-reservation communities in that no property taxes, utilities, rents or school or medical expenses, or boarding expenses for school children are paid by individuals. Such exemptions are probably equivalent to at least one-third of Shonto's total income. On the other hand, the cost of consumer goods is much higher in Shonto than elsewhere. Finally the subsistence sector of the economy is not adequately reflected in economic terms. The unemployed on the reservation have a higher "human standard of living" than the unemployed Indian in the city.

Employment

The Shonto Boarding school employs more Indians than all other wage sources within a thirty-mile radius combined, with the exception of Kaibeto school, not considered a part of the Shonto regional analysis. Next comes seasonal railroad work and unemployment compensation; then regional off-reservation employment: sawmills, munitions depot, domestics; tribal employees including three councilmen, grazing committee, Community Action personnel and a policeman; and a small coal mine; and the few clerks and hourly wage laborers found at the traders, missions and National Monument. Bootlegging is another supplementary economic activity and has facilitated payments on many a pick-up truck.

If one estimates approximately 120 jobs in the area and were to rank the jobs on an economic scale, perhaps 10 percent of the Navajo would fall in the top 50 percent of the jobs (teachers, administrators, dorm supervisors, traders and mine owner) while 90 percent of the Indians would fall in the lower 50 percent of the jobs (instructional aides, dorm attendants, kitchen help, custodians, clerks and seasonal laborers), and a considerably larger segment would be unemployed. Unemployment must be understood as referring to wage labor only, as the same individuals would be fully engaged in subsistence agriculture and livestock raising.

Tribal economic programs are quite limited in the Shonto area. They include summer Youth Corps, a water system under construction at Inscription House, and ten-day relief projects. The eventual paving of a new highway to Page may provide some new areas for economic development in the tourist services sector (gas, food, lodging). Employment opportunities of young people are exceedingly limited and largely limited to replacement of school aides. However, employment assistance in urban areas is encouraged by the BIA, as is vocational training and higher education.

BIA employment assistance in Tuba City, about 60 miles distant, handles applications for relocation, while the state of Arizona also assists in job recruitment. A small number find tribal employment. Those leaving the reservation either generally go to vocational training programs, or to the West Coast or another urban area.

The out-migration of Indians is to school, the Army, and then relocation. Summer and fall seasonal employment goes to the railroads or migrant agriculture. Since the Shonto population grows in number more each year than the total number of jobs extant, it is clear that considerable preparation for off-reservation life should be included in the school program. Most migrants plan to return, and many, in fact, do return, keeping up their kinship ties, and grazing permits. Settling into the community is more important than succeeding in an urban environment. Urban "success" is viewed as means to acquire pick-up trucks and money for cattle to get economically established in the traditional Shonto community. However, few of the younger generation have been graduated from high school, the trends for the more educated are not yet apparent. The in-migration involves those returning from urban experiences, and in the summer, the high-school students, and sometimes the college students also return to the reservation.

Religion

Traditional religious practices and beliefs are both surviving and prevalent. Adams estimates that between a quarter and a third of the Navajo males' working time is spent in overt ritual activities and somewhat less for the women.[1] This seems to have diminished appreciably over the past decade. In addition the less frequent major rituals, Enemy Way, a three-day ceremony, and Night Way, five to nine days, are still performed. Minor rituals involving singers occur about once a week year around, and more often in winter and summer. The most frequent ceremony is Blessing Way, which is performed before departure of students, soldiers and migrants, and also upon their return.

Until 1955 Shonto boasted not a single professing convert to Christianity. The first mission established in Shonto in 1955 had two formal converts in some fifteen months and was denied a tribal building permit; it closed. The most active religious movement in the area involves a blending of evangelical Christianity and certain nativistic practices, principally shaking, and seems to be thriving. Since then, liberalized tribal control has permitted mission establishments at Inscription House, Navajo Mountain, Kaibeto and Shonto.

The new Shonto Boarding School serves these communities (except Kaibeto) and thus technically represents an area-based clientele, rather than a "community" in the usual sense.

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[1] Adams, op. cit.

EDUCATION AND THE SHONTO BOARDING SCHOOL

Historical Background

The first formal consideration by the U. S. government concerning education of Navajos was in the signing of the Treaty of 1868. Article VI of this Treaty read:

> "In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as may be settled on said agricultural parts of this reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between the said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher.
>
> "The provisions of this article to continue for not less than ten years."

In 1887 school attendance was made compulsory and police were used to bring students in to the schools. Numerous incidents occurred and these occasionally erupted into violence as in 1892 when the government agent was besieged in a trading post by a force of Navajos led by Black Horse. Formal education met few, if any, felt needs on the part of the Navajo. Within the traditional society, the educational process was carried on in the home, designed to teach children the traditional techniques of agriculture and stock-raising and the social and religious practices of Navajo culture. Literacy remained as alien to the Navajo as it had been when Col. Kit Carson led a military campaign against them in the 1860's.

In 1928 the Meriam report bluntly stated that the "foremost need in education was a change in BIA policy, specifically modification of the removal of children from their homes to boarding schools." During the thirties over fifty additional day schools were opened.

The most lasting development of the New Deal era was an attempt to conceptualize Indian education within a community school context. In Shonto this meant hogan-type schools for 70 pupils, school lunches and busses. Navajo Mountain had a small school, while Kaibeto developed a more conventional facility.

In 1945 less than one-third of school age Navajos were enrolled in school, and it was not until the 1950's that the BIA could claim that a majority of school-aged Navajos were attending school. The latter increase was the product of an abrupt awakening on the part of the Bureau, as well as the Navajo war veterans and others who had been exposed to many new ways of facilitating economic development.

In the late 1940's, 25 million dollars was spent by the BIA to provide facilities for 55 percent of the school-age Navajo. Many dormitories were built and boarding schools retained to house the burgeoning school population.

In 1952 the Tribe passed a compulsory education law, and in 1954 an emergency program added facilities for nearly 8,000 students.

The problem of providing facilities for all Navajo children largely overcome, the late 1960's saw more intense efforts to develop special programs, such as TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language), new math, and other curricular revisions, but more notable was the increased effort placed upon parent and community involvement. Demonstration schools were established. Public schools became increasingly active both on and off the reservation. BIA and Tribal education goals both cited "maximum feasible involvement of parents and tribal leaders in the education of their children."

In 1969 the BIA operated 48 boarding schools, seven border-town dormitories, and one reservation dormitory in addition to ten day schools, for the Navajo. Principal on-reservation school systems K-12 are found at Ft. Defiance, Kayenta and Tuba City. The Bureau has taken steps to develop Advisory School Boards for all schools; these are to become full-fledged School Boards. The Navajo Tribal Education Committee has developed a set of goals and procedures for school boards and is working to train members through dissemination of a manual, workshops, and monthly meetings in several reservation areas.

Navajo Educational Goals developed by the Tribal Education Committee are:

1. To seek maximum involvement of parents and tribal leaders in the education program.

2. To attack the unique problems of Indian students by the provision of unique programs suited to the needs of these students, such as the ESL program.

3. To develop a public information program which reflects progress made on a continuing basis.

4. To endeavor to assist in any way possible so that full utilization can be made of resources, including the Economic Opportunity Act, Public Law 89-10, and other similar programs which can benefit the Indian people.

Education at Shonto

No single aspect has had as great an impact upon the Shonto community as education. In 1955 less than one third of the Shonto adults had been to school. The average length of attendance was about two years and thus had very slight effect upon their subsequent lives. By 1955 school attendance was nearly universal for children from 6 - 10 years old, with most continuing beyond that. Pupils attended the old Shonto school for the first two years, and then attended off-reservation schools. At that time, none of the few high school graduates had returned to live in the Shonto community. This is no longer the case, but those who return are still the exception. Education is almost universal with 90 percent completing the eighth grade with most continuing into high school. The nearest high school is at Kayenta, about 38 miles away, but many students attend off-reservation high schools.

Location and Physical Structure of Shonto Boarding School

The location of the Shonto School plant and the distribution of the major Navajo "outfits," or residences in Shonto community are seen in Map 3.

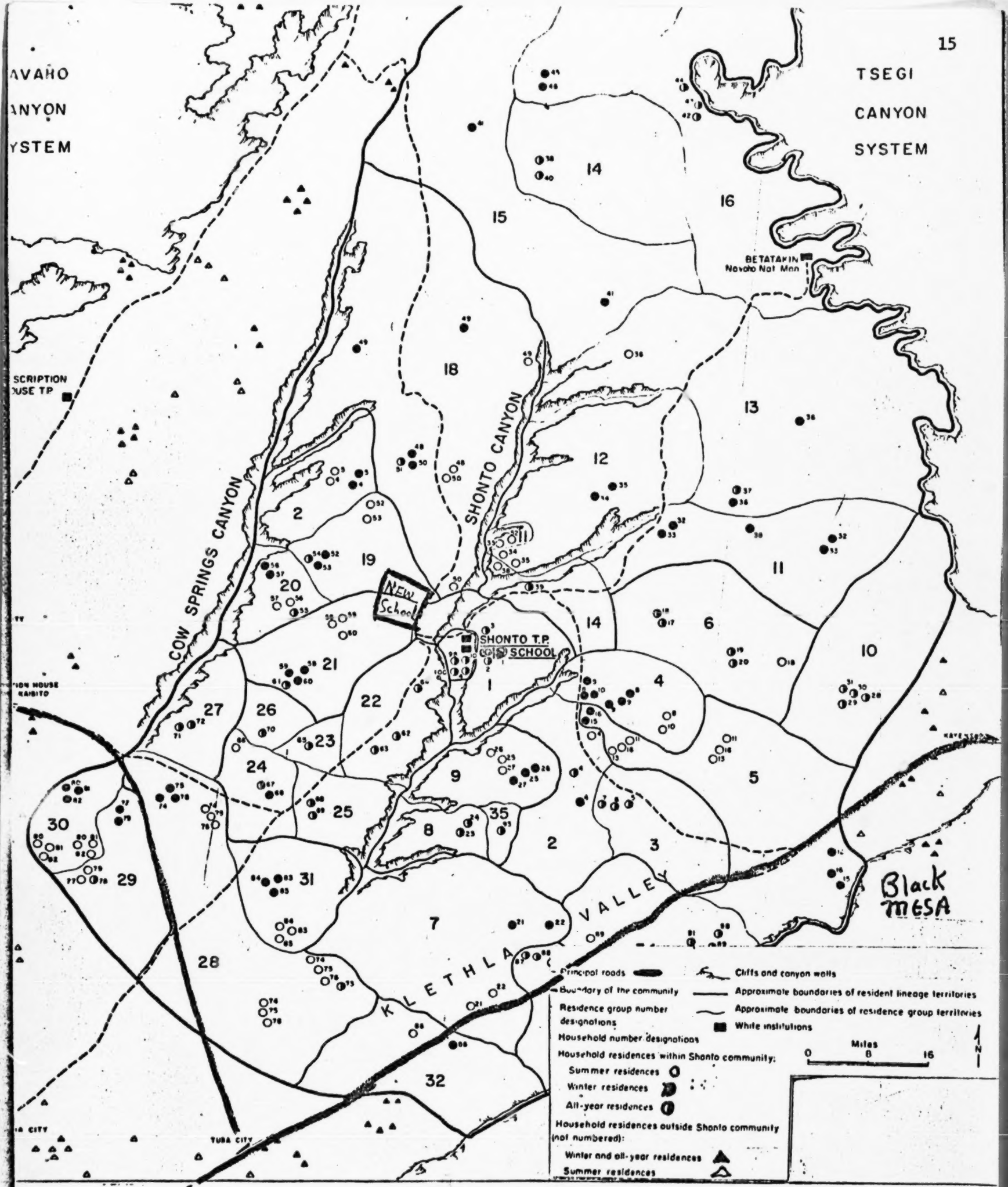
Shonto School consists of approximately 36 classrooms distributed in three wings of the same building which is connected by the auditorium, gymnasium and school library. The school serves grades one through eight, and also beginners who are differentiated from the usual kindergarten in that they are principally exposed to a language program.

Other facilities include four dormitories, a cafeteria and canteen. Also within the school compound are a maintenance plant, a USPH installation with full-time dentist, approximately one hundred residential units, two water towers, a fire truck, and one pay telephone to serve the Shonto community. A tribal policeman lives in residence at the compound.

Virtually the entire school compound is new, having been constructed in 1963 and was in very good condition. Much effort and concern was manifest in the landscaping and grounds, and in literally making the school a showplace.

Extensive use of audio-visual aids was made both within classrooms and for entire grades. Opaque projectors, tape recorders and phonographs were also used in the classrooms. Instructional aides greatly facilitate the audio-visual program.

The library consists of approximately 2500 volumes. Although it is over three years old, the card file is not yet operational which limits its use for the teachers. At the same time, student usage of the library was observed to be limited and although students were permitted to take books to classrooms, they were not permitted or encouraged to take books to dormitories and never to homes. At the same time only two books and two magazines were available in two typical dormitory lounges. The library was stronger than most in the area of Indian heritage, possessing approximately 150 volumes, which represented a pretty good selection for its size.



MAP 3 -Shonto community.

The classrooms were new and generally well appointed, with considerable emphasis upon neatness of bulletin boards and limited use of local cultural materials. An inadequate amount of school supplies: paper, pencils, crayons, etc. was a result of 1969 budget cuts.

The dining facilities comprised a very efficient operation. Continuous service enabled the entire student body of 860 students to eat in about one hour. A smaller family style dining room was used for familiarizing older students with Anglo table etiquette. Discipline was emphasized with instructional aides standing at the head of every other table throughout the meal, rather than eating with the students. Navajo murals decorate the walls. The food was starchy but good by institutional standards, and students complained only of the monotony and lack of Navajo foods, not the quality or quantity. Non-Indian music was played frequently during meals. Students were requested to ask for each dish in English in order to be served, and to broaden their language experience.

Four dormitories serve the 860 students. A critical understaffing problem has been reduced to a great extent by the recent hiring of over a dozen additional staff members.

Each dormitory included a large rumpus room, and outdoors there were large concrete ball courts, and some playground equipment. A track and football field were nearby and the school housed a gym and auditorium.

Although there is a teachers' room, it was kept locked and little used. It was notably barren of books, periodicals, radio, TV, bulletin board or refreshments. A need for more communication and opportunities to exchange teaching experiences was mentioned by several teachers interviewed.

Housing for teachers was all within the compound and consisted of cinderblock residences or apartments. Housing was new and generally adequate, differing primarily in the location, or whether one had a lawn or not.

Administration

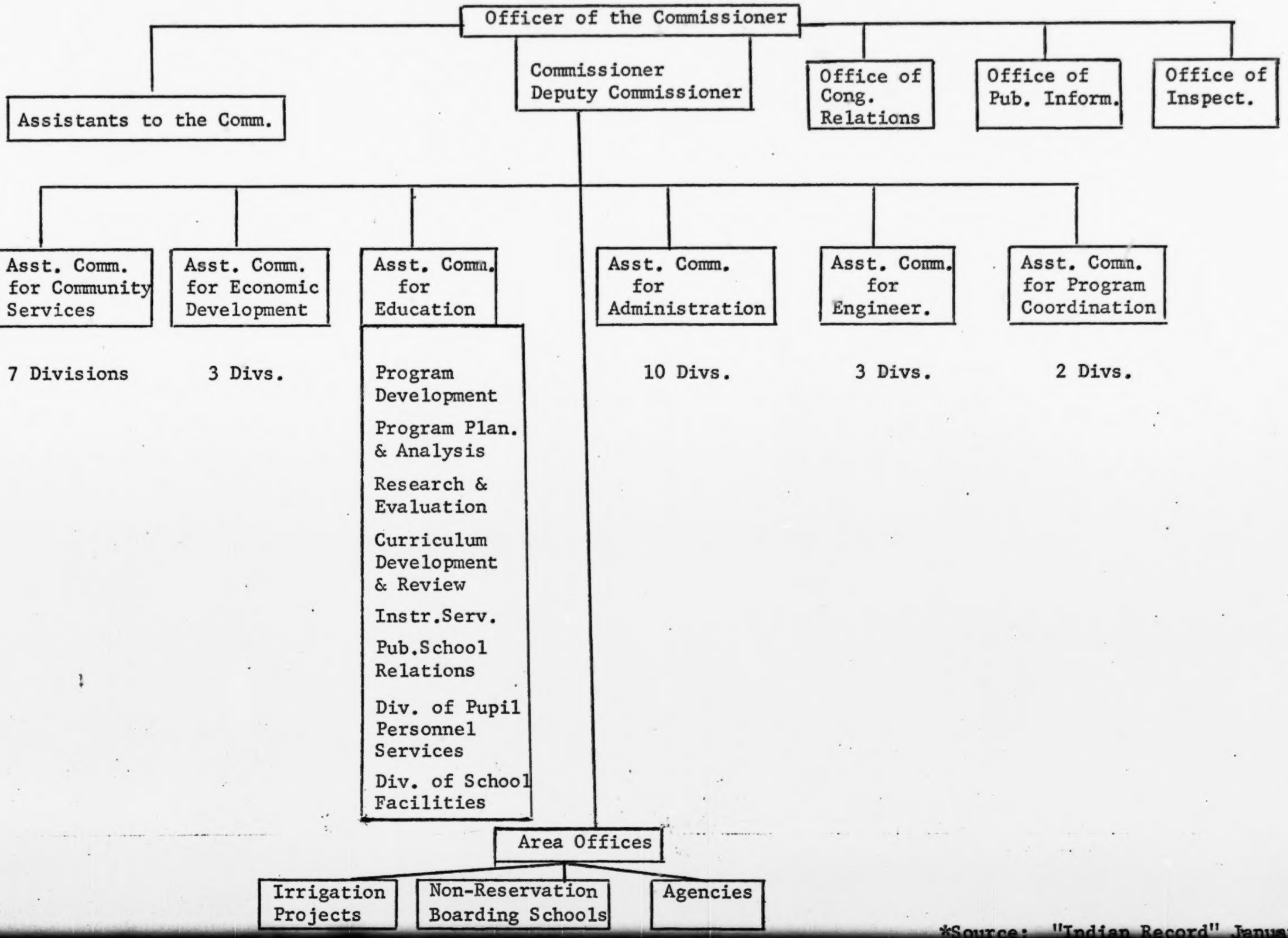
The school is entirely financed and administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The budget for total school operation is slightly over one million dollars, ($1,166,122 for 1969-70). The tribe provides for most student clothing, and eyeglasses. U.S.P.H. provides medical facilities in Tuba City and a resident dentist at Shonto. Johnson-O'Malley funds are used, including funds from Public Law 89-10. Teachers are recruited and hired by regional offices. Also, being under Civil Service means that termination processes are remote and beyond local control.

The Shonto Boarding School is an on-reservation school under the jurisdiction of the Agency office at Tuba City. Table 1 illustrates the position of the Agency in the BIA hierarchy.

Table I

Table of School in Relation to Other BIA Programs*

Organization - Bureau of Indian Affairs



*Source: "Indian Record" January 1969

The school itself is administered by the Principal. Table 2 describes the organization of the school.

Table 2

Table of Organization of the School

		Principal			
		Department Heads			
Academic	Elementary	Guidance (Supervisors)	Guidance	Kitchen	Plant & Maintenance
Teachers	Teachers, Aides	Counselors	Counselors	Staff	Clerk
Aides	Aides	Special I.A.			Bus Driver
		Instr.Aides	+ 2 Interns		
		Day Attendants	+ 1 Intern		
		Night Attendants			

Major decisions concerning the school are made by the principal in consultation with the Agency Superintendent or BIA directives.

The school serves children in grades one through eight. Table 3 gives the distribution of teachers.

Table 3

Teachers by Grade

Preschool	1	Fourth	4
Beginners	4	Fifth	3
Kindergarten	2	Sixth	4
First	6	Seventh	2
Second	4	Eighth	2
Third	3		

In addition a librarian, two academic heads, one principal and several instructional aides complete the academic program.

The ethnic composition of the teaching staff is 22 White, 6 Blacks, 4 Indians and 1 Spanish-American. There are 4 White and 2 Indian administrators. The dormitory staff consists of 2 Whites, 1 Black, 24 Indians; and the kitchen employs 10 Indians.

Teachers

The vast majority (80 percent for the year 67-68) of Shonto teachers were graduated from relatively small teachers' colleges in Oklahoma and Texas. Typical of these colleges are Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma; Sul Ross State College, Alpine, Texas; Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma; Southwestern State College, Weatherford, Oklahoma; Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma. Forty percent of the Shonto teachers are graduates of the latter institution. It was suggested by some that this created an in-group sense of cohesion and a definite tendency to form a "transplanted" Anglo community instead of facilitating growth of an integrated community.

Teacher turnover was high although 53 percent of the Shonto faculty for 1968-69 had taught there at least one previous year.

Most auxilliary personnel are Indian and many are from the greater Shonto area.

The following is a summary of information about teachers derived from an anonymous teacher questionnaire given to all teachers in the National sample. Comparisons are made within the framework of the Colorado group sample of six major school systems.

Shonto teachers, along with teachers from a Bureau contract school, perceived their educational goal for Indian students as primarily one of assimilation to a greater extent than any other schools studied. They also perceived their school's orientation to be more assimilation oriented than any other group studied. Thus it is not surprising that they perceived greater conflict between what the child learned at home and what the school was attempting to instill. However, they were somewhat more undecided about how to handle the situation, even though a similar item "Indians should become completely assimilated into the larger American Society," they concurred more highly than any other school group. Nevertheless they reported that they felt strongly that there should be courses teaching local Indian history and culture and that students should not be encouraged to become independent of parental control.

Concerning their attitudes toward School Organization and Structure, Shonto teachers scored as the most flexible group in the midwest sample. This correlates with their being the most youthful group studied and says a great deal about the need to direct this tremendous asset into new and constructive channels. The teachers also reported the Shonto school as more flexible than others, although their basis for comparison may be relative to

BIA schools, rather than public schools, and some may have been too inhibited to render constructive criticism. It may be significant that, as a group, Shonto teachers were the most circumspect in terms of making openly critical judgments or even suggestions of any group in the sample. Criticism of the Bureau, however constructive, was considered disloyal.

Shonto teachers scored highest in their number of stereotypes concerning Indian education; however further examination revealed that most of them were "positive stereotypes" (Indians as quiet, good, manageable pupils as contrasted with Indians as dumb, recalcitrant, unmotivated, etc. pupils).

The mean age for Shonto teachers was the lowest for any group in the sample--around 28 years. This will probably increase in the future and is seen as related to the recency of the school's establishment and administrative structure.

The teachers are predominantly women, filling over two-thirds of the teaching positions. Teachers are more often, than in other schools sampled, single rather than married, which also contributes to a higher turnover rate, particularly when the singles ratio between the sexes is too unbalanced. Such factors are of increased importance at Shonto where the teachers' community is limited to the school compound community.

Teacher couples are frequently hired, which undoubtedly facilitates recruitment, but reduces the time that they will have to spend in the Navajo community; and the latter diminishes the probability that they may settle into the community and raise their own families. Salary was the reason cited more often by Shonto teachers than any other group studied for teaching in Indian Service schools.

It is difficult to see how the school may ever become an integrated part of the community if the teachers remain outside of it. As one Bureau teacher put it, "We don't even try to make friends anymore, because we know we'll be transferred, and it's just that much harder to leave."

Shonto had the highest percentage of Indian to non-Indian* teachers, approximately 12 percent; however, it was still more successful in the recruitment of Blacks, 20 percent. While most, if not all, Shonto teachers were certified teachers, nevertheless, the school had the lowest proportion of teachers certified for the state in which they were teaching. This apparently reflects the attitude that state certification is superfluous.

Shonto teachers averaged from 3 to 8 years less teaching experience when compared to other midwest Indian schools sampled. Partially related to the above fact was that they had only 33 percent to 50 percent as much experience in working with Indian students. Despite the youthfulness of the Shonto teachers they had taught in an average of two other schools which was

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*No Indian teachers are Navajos, however.

very close to the comparative figures for our total school sample, and this would suggest that they are the most mobile of any group studied. This is substantiated by teachers' self reports, and the teacher turnover rate from the previous year which was 53 percent.

One paradoxical finding was that while the Shonto group reported the highest intentions to continue to work with Indians (expectedly so within the BIA system) at the same time they reported their current job satisfactions as lower than any other teacher group studied. It should be noted that it was still on the favorable side of the scale.

Perhaps the greatest single area of resentment vocalized was with respect to the Bureau recruitment policies. Teachers wanted to know where they would be assigned and with whom they would be working; both viewpoints were mirrored by the school administrators. Finally, despite recruitment dissatisfactions, Shonto teachers preferred to work with Indians twice as often as other teachers sampled (36 percent vs. 18 percent) and almost twice as many viewed their jobs as challenging, i.e. 23 percent, as other school groups sampled in the study.

Pupils

Over 90 percent of the 860 Indian students come from within a 25 mile radius of the school. All students lived in the dorm; no provision was made for students to live at home, even where possible. Bussing would be difficult but possible for almost half of the students. The Shonto preschool busses pupils. In both cultural and socioeconomic terms the students represent a fairly homogeneous traditional group. Students differed most from students in other schools in their attitude toward school, their English language fluency, and their exposure to non-Indian ways (relocation, seasonal work, other schools, etc.). Most students have had more formal education than their parents (parents average less than two years of formal schooling); are more conversant with non-Indian ways (from TV, teachers, older siblings and peers); and are increasingly independent in that their elders often depend upon them for reading letters, and translating in most contacts with the non-Indian world (school, employment, Social Security, Welfare, Selective Service, Unemployment, Public Health, etc.).

The distribution of Shonto pupils in the various grades is seen in Table 4.

Table 4

Shonto Enrollment by Age and Grade
(as of January 1969)

	Age in Years														
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19-20
Beginners	29	65	28	9	3										
Kinder-garten	3	2													
First	2	22	63	5	3										
Second			11	46	64	18	1	1							
Third				4	32	41	10	1	1						
Fourth					4	29	45	26	11	2	1				
Fifth						0	19	33	16	9	3	1	0	1	
Sixth				1	19	36	24	11	7	4	1				
Seventh					6	11	16	11	8	3					
Eighth						2	8	17	16	13	2	2			

Data do not exist to estimate retention and dropout rates with any great accuracy. However, several observations are relevant. First, most students are over-age for their grade. The discrepancy increases as one goes higher, despite special educational services. Considerable attrition in the number of students enrolling by grade is observed as one moves upward in school; this is beyond that normally accounted for by population growth. Approximately 90 percent of Shonto students would fall below Arizona age-grade norms--63 percent of Arizona Indians tend to be below state norms.[1]

[1]William H. Kelly, A Study of Southern Arizona School-Age Children, Tucson: Bureau of Ethnic Research, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, 1968, p. 9.

The distribution of students by sex indicates that 47 percent of students are girls and 53 percent are boys; perhaps some differential factors are operative. Conservative estimates of the number of students not enrolled in school is above 10 percent. The apparent dropout rate of students enrolled during the school year would be approximately 10 percent (derived by subtracting the yearbook listings from the fall enrollment lists).

Curriculum

The curriculum at Shonto is 100 percent Bureau prescribed in terms of development, selection, provision of materials, and even technique of presentation. A common teacher complaint was the inflexibility regarding course materials. Some teachers indicated that students were unable to use the textbooks provided because of oral language and reading difficulties. Due to apparently indeterminate hiring procedures some teachers were shifted out of the subject area for which they were trained, and as a result some never knew what subject they would be teaching until September.

The curriculum is little different from standard subjects taught in non-Indian schools with the exception of drill in the use of the English language.

No adult education programs were in evidence outside of in-service training for dormitory personnel which was planned. Local Head Start programs exist at Inscription House, Navajo Mountain, Shonto, and within the school a preschool familiarization program was in progress. There was a lack of communication between the boarding school and the Head Start programs, so that the two programs were not mutually understood or coordinated.

Complaints that the area curriculum committee were unwieldy and poorly coordinated seemed well founded; local expectations of their contribution was low.

No culturally sensitive curriculum materials were in evidence, nor was any interest apparent in the direction of training Navajo teachers, or of promoting education as a career among Navajo youth. No Navajo teachers existed as role models for student aspirations.

Extracurricular Activities

Extracurricular activities for the students included: student council, activity association (which serves primarily a recreational function--movies, parties, dances, trips, homecoming and graduation events), six or eight scout troops, cheer leader pep club, an Indian club (dancing), marching club, and football, basketball and volleyball teams, which all involve staff members. The athletic and social activities are a major inducement to attend school. Many older students prefer to remain at school over the weekends to be with their peers, to returning home and sharing in the domestic responsibilities of hauling wood and water, herding and babysitting.

Youth Activities in the Community--these do not exist outside of the school compound, with perhaps a small exception for church groups. However, rodeos and Chapter house functions produce large youth turnouts. In the summer, tribal programs attempt to hire many youths and thus to keep them from drifting to the cities through involvement in their own communities. The fact that no formal youth groups exist apart from the school reflects the unique situation in which there are legally no school age youth in the communities during the school year. While drop-outs do abound, no groups were observed except at the level of informal drinking.

Beyond the academic and dormitory details some weekend work experience on the grounds is provided and seems to provide unusual opportunities to acquaint students with job responsibilities on an individual level. The school also participates in an arrangement with Lockheed employees who send each student a Christmas gift. The principal coordinates a program through which appropriate students may be sponsored by the Save the Children Foundation. A small scale program has also been successfully tried in which older children may live in an apartment and manage their own domestic affairs, study schedules, etc. Religious services are available on Sundays on a voluntary basis.

Dormitories

The dormitories are an important part of the school program, although much more communication might be needed to integrate both into a maximally effective program. In-service training would help in this direction.

Since the children spend the greater part of the year at the school, and approximately two-thirds of their time in the dormitory program, the Aides must rise to many responsibilities. BIA policy supports three crucial roles for dormitory aides:

1. The out-of-classroom time should simulate the family atmosphere.

2. The out-of-classroom time should provide the child with a place to go which he can call his own and where he can be alone.

3. The out-of-classroom time should be productive.

The higher supervisory staff were quite aware of the guidance goals but had the least contact with the students. With staff-student dorm ratio of 1:64, it is difficult to envision any significant contact on a personal basis. As a result of being tied down to interminable roll-calls and escort duties and patrolling and disciplinary actions, the Aides' roles come in conflict with those officially stated.

Discipline problems were recognized and dealt with generally according to BIA regulations. Abusive discipline was rare and not tolerated by the administration. One of the major problems concerns truancy or going AWOL.

Additional instructional aides have been added so that more individualized work with the students is possible.

Most student and parent complaints related to dormitory problems, theft of personal belongings, new clothes, etc. However, the institutional solutions to such problems may often contribute to problems of a higher order. This is likely the case in the removal of doors from the older girls' rooms in order to permit greater surveillance, or of locking up their cosmetics centrally to reduce theft and health hazards. From an institutional viewpoint these are effective means of "problem prevention" while from the individual's view they become incursions into privacy and impugn everyone's integrity for an individual's misdeeds. The instructional aides generally commented that the situation was better than when they were boarding students (e.g. less corporal punishment, more withholding of privileges).

Parents

Shonto Boarding School has an elected school board composed of Indians from the area. This is in response to a presidential directive of three years' standing, a 15-page directive by the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and action by the Navajo Tribe to implement the establishment of duly elected school boards with legitimate and recognized power to make fundamental educational decisions and to direct the school on policy matters relating to their attainment.

Although official policy supports parental control through elected school boards, the School Board at Shonto is essentially still in its organizational phase. It has progressed in defining its functions and duties, it may never become a really viable entity until it is given decision-making power commensurate with its responsibilities. At present it does not play a decision-making role.

The problem is considerably more than a local one. A manual for Navajo School Boards has been compiled but is generally too vague and non-specific concerning actual implementation of the broad goals which it presents. Monthly meetings are held in Tuba City to familiarize members with the manual, but its academic nature combined with the hundred-mile trip for Shonto members reduce it to little more than a gesture so far as the local board is concerned. It is also worth noting that the local board is to be under an intra-agency school board, which is under an inter-agency school board which clearly spells out the accountability of the school board to the bureaucracy rather than to their own community (Table 5).

Table 5

Organization of School in Relation to Other Government Agencies

Bureau of Indian Affairs	Tribal Council	U.S.P.H.S.
Navajo Area Office Window Rock, Arizona (Specialists in: Development Planning, Evaluation, Curriculum Instruction, Public School Relations, Pupil Personnel, and School Facilities.)	(Education Committee and establishment of educational code, and law enforcement)	Div. Indian Health
Area School Board		
Agency Office Tuba City (Agency School Superintendent and educational specialists)	District Councilmen	Tuba City Hospital
Agency School Board		
	Local Chapter Officers Tribal Census Clerk	Shonto Dental Clinic
Shonto School Board		

School and Community

Two aspects of community perception of the school stand out above all others. First is a very favorable general attitude concerning the school. This was locally explained in at least three ways: (1) it was closer to home than any former alternatives, (2) it provided more jobs than anything else in the area, and (3) it was a lot easier to have the government (actually the tribe) provide room, board, and clothing than to face the hassle of public schools which requires bussing, book fees, meal fees, athletic fees, activity fees.

The second and equally striking aspect was how little the parents knew about the academic aspects of the school in contrast to how much they knew about the dormitory life. This reflects both the parents' limited educational experience and their continuing limited exposure to their children's classroom experience. The average Shonto parent has less than two years of formal education which places the average Shonto student in an educationally advantageous position which the student learns to convert to his interests which are largely that of the peer group.

The non-Indians tend to view the Navajo school in terms of their own life orientations. The missionaries view education as a great inroad being made against paganism; while the trader has long lost his role as an innovator and represents more of a 19th century mercantilistic orientation against the tide of the times. In the Indian community monolithic paternalism is no longer sufficient to provide a major linkage to the larger society.

Politically, the most common school discussions revolve around the selection, employment and conduct of school employees, particularly the Indians.

Educational alternatives to the local Shonto school do exist. They include bussing 38 miles to the nearest public school at Kayenta which is technically a requirement for students living within 1½ miles of the bus route. In a recent jurisdictional dispute the public school claimed that some 48 students at Shonto should be attending the public school. At issue is the fact that a significant amount of federal money, allocated on the basis of Indian pupil attendance, is involved. Another alternative for some, particularly the older students, is attendance in off-reservation schools. Where siblings or a "family tradition" or close peer attractions are operating, or when problems have been encountered in previous school experience, this option may be exercised.

Some students become involved in the placement program of The Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormon), whereby Indian students live with Mormon families throughout the school year, but attend off-reservation public schools. No figures are available for the number of Shonto families involved, but this reason was advanced to account for the slight diminution of boarding students from the previous year's enrollment. A very small number migrate to the cities, first because of the employment opportunities, and secondarily to place the children in public schools but to have the students living at home. Finally a diminishing but not insignificant number opt to forego formal education and children are enculturated into the traditional roles and expectations of Navajo society. Older daughters learn how to manage the extended families; young men how to handle livestock and build a home, and wherever elders are involved, how to provide for them.

The school is not used as a community center in the usual sense. Virtually all activities are planned by and for the school subculture: movies, programs, athletic events, etc. However, the community is always invited and

a significant number of persons do participate. One basketball team from an outlying community did use the gym for its team's practice since its community was lacking in ball court facilities.

Navajo ceremonies are not ordinarily calendrical in nature. Most of them are more therapeutically preventative or else curative in nature and hence occur when there is a specific need to be met. It would therefore be difficult for the school to adjust its calendar to that of the traditional Navajo. The requirements for children to be with kin for ceremonials are irregular and attendance at boarding school can interfere with participation, which may influence truancy. The school does have a Tribal leader day, and on occasion has local Navajo political leaders speak to the student body; they also speak at graduation exercises.

The Tribal Education Committee has provided guidelines for School Boards to augment tribal consciousness. These include a Tribal Leader's Day, a Parents Day, and an Arts and Crafts show. It also encourages Boards to select a Navajo story teller, to recommend various speakers, and to tape traditional Navajo songs.

The most obvious school efforts to further student's identity are in the way of murals depicting traditional lifeways, in the photographic displays of community leaders, and in the selection of Indian heritage books in the school library.

School communication with parents and community definitely presents a problem. Lacking mass media, and with low parent literacy, the school is almost totally cut off from the community except for face-to-face dissemination of information. Channels are: the large number of Indian employees; the children (but since they board, information transmittal is sporadic); weekly events which bring in parents (movies or checking out children). Official matters are transmitted via the school board, and at most Chapter meetings someone is present to give a report from the school. Community contact within the trading post and Chapter House laundry provide additional means for daily communication.

In order to secure community support for its programs the school has established the school board, and has hired many local staff members. The principal has also attended many Chapter meetings and discussed problems with many key families in order to further understanding.

No effective systems for accountability to the community, nor internal evaluation of programs to measure success have been proposed; let alone designed and implemented.

Trends

Innovations are limited by funds and lack of program autonomy. In the academic program a kindergarten has been started, and a language program is being developed at UCLA in conjunction with materials tested at Shonto. The School Board had certainly developed beyond the point of a quasi-advisory role. The school decor has benefitted from the five Navajo murals. The ESL (English as a Second Language) program has generated more controversy than success, and dorm personnel have not been trained in its use.

The school was completed in 1963 and has been in the unique situation of operating at below capacity since. Designed for approximately 1000 students it now has about 860 students. In a sense the future must be written now; if significent change is to be made it will be infinitely easier now than after the school has become overcrowded and the institutional problems supplant the educational program.

The parent survey shows that parents are vitally interested in the education of their children and suggests that they will participate extensively if encouraged to do so.

Local politics are related to the current satisfactory functioning of the school, which has not always run smoothly. Considerable credit is due to the current principal who has laid much of the important groundwork for drawing the three political districts together. Much of the future success of the school will reflect the extent to which the cooperative bonds can create a genuine community school, in the fullest sense.

Politics are also related to the School Board selection process. Across the reservation, BIA school boards are generally elected (in some cases appointed) through local Chapter house meetings (the local political entity). In many cases the board members will have held local political offices. In many communities, political control may be but an expression of kinship ties and clan dominance.

Plans for the future were not very explicit but should comprise a top level of priority for the new School Board to develop. There was some strong community expression in favor of a prevocational program, and/or a high school. No provisions have yet been made to effectively incorporate views of parents and teachers.

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